

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 IO-12 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19 OMB-01

TRSE-00 CIAE-00 EUR-25 PM-09 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12 SAJ-01

H-02 NSC-10 SS-15 RSR-01 /155 W
----- 041707

P R 111844 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8815

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

ALL MBFR CAPITALS 422

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3956

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: FINAL TEXT OF STATEMENT FOR POST- PLENARY PRESS
BACKGROUND

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FOR ANKARA: PLEASE PASS TEXT TO FOREIGN MINISTRY

FROM US REP MBFR

THE AD HOC GROUP MEETING ON 10 MAY, 1973, APPROVED THE
FOLLOWING REVISED TEXT FOR USE BY NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES)
AS PRESS BACKGROUNDER IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING 14 MAY PLENARY
AND POSSIBLE USE BY CAPITALS AS SOURCE MATERIAL.

BEGIN TEXT

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1. GENTLEMEN: AS YOU KNOW, THIS MORNING, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NINETEEN STATE PARTICIPATING IN THESE TALKS HELD THEIR FIRST PLENARY MEETING TO PREPARE THE MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS LATER ON THIS YEAR. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT WE ARE NOW AHEAD OF THE SCHEDULE OF THE FAMOUS CONGRESS OF VIENNA OF 1814. THAT CONGRESS, OFTEN CALLED " THE DANCING CONGRESS", TOOK NINE MONTHS TO REACH A FIRST PLENARY. OURS IS DEFINITELY A WORK CONFERENCE AND TOOK ONLY THREE MONTHS TO ARRIVE AT THE SAME POINT. TODAY, A PRECEDURES AND PARTICIPATION ARRANGEMENT WAS ADOPTED IN PLENARY SESSION WHICH WILL ALLOW US TO PROCEED WITH OUR OTHER TALKS IN PREPARATION FOR THE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FALL.

2. ALTHOUGH WE HELD OUR FIRST PLENARY ONLY TODAY, WE HAVE IN FACT BEEN VERY BUSY DURING THE PAST THREE MONTHS. THE UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH WERE ADOPTED THIS MORNING CONSTITUTE NOT ONLY A AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATION FOR THE PRESENT CONSULTATIONS, BUT ALSO FOR THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WE ARE PREPARING FOR THIS FALL. IN THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS OVER THE PAST THREE MONTHS, WE HAVE ALSO HAD A GOOD DEAL OF EXCHANGE OF GENERAL VIEWS ON THE OVERALL SUBJECT MATTER. THEREFORE, ALTHOUGH OUR DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN INFORMAL, THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN PRODUCTIVE, AND WE HAVE IN FACT ACCOMPLISHED A LARGE PART OF OUR ASSIGNED WORK IN PREPARATION FOR THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS.

3. AS YOU KNOW THE TEXT WHICH YOU HAVE BEFORE YOU, THE UNDERSTANDING ADOPTED TODAY ESTABLISHED A PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION FOR THE PRESENT TALKS. IT PROVIDES FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF NINETEEN STATES IN THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS. IT ALSO SETS UP A DECISION- MAKING GROUP OF ELEVEN STATES, THOSE WHOM WE FOR CONVENIENCE CALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, WHO WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS BY CONSENSUS. THERE ARE EIGHT SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS WHO CAN ADDRESS ALL ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER BUT WHO WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN DECISIONS. THE ARRANGEMENT CONTAINS A PROVISION FOR ENLARGING THE GROUP OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS BY ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS EITHER IN FULL OR FOR SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL MEASURES. THE ARRANGEMENT ALSO ESTABLISHES GENERAL PROCEDURES FOR THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS.

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4. THE PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURES UNDERSTANDING ADOPTED TODAY CONTAINS A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT ASPECTS WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION. IT CONTAINS A CLEAR FOCUS ON CENTRAL EUROPE FOR THE FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS FROM THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WHICH WOULD HAVE HAD THE EFFECT OF POTENTIALLY BROADENING OR NARROWING THIS FOCUS. WE FEEL FOR OUR PART THAT CENTRAL EUROPE IS THE AREA OF THE GREATEST

TROPP CONCENTRATION AND THE FOCUS OF EAST- WEST CONFRONTATION.
IT WILL BE A DIFFICULT TASK TO ACHIEVE MBFR AGREEMENTS COVERING
THIS REGION. TO ALTER THE FOCUS WOULD CONSIDERABLY INCREASE
THESE DIFFICULTIES. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO POINT OUT T AT THE
REFERENCE IN THE TEXT AND IN THE AGREED COMMUNIQUE TO FORTHCOMING
NEGOTIATIONS IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT INDICATES THAT BOTH SIDES
NOW EXPECT THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL IN FACT TAKE PLACE.

5. YOU ARE ALL AWARE THAT THE QUESTION OF THE STATUS OF HUNGARY
HAS BEEN A MOJOR DIFFICULTY IN OUR EFFORTS TO GET FORMAL SESSIONS
STARTED. THE ARRANGEMENT ANNOUNCED TODAY IS A COMPROMISE
BETWEEN THE OPPOSING POSITIONS ON THE SUBJECT. LONG BEFORE
THESE TALKS BEGAN THE WESTERN ALLIES PROPOSED THAT HUNGARY SHOULD
BE A FULL, I. E. A DIRECT PARTICIPANT. WE DID THIS WITH A VIEW
TO HUNGARY' S POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN AGREEMENTS WHICH MIGHT
BE REACHED DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS POSITION WAS MADE
CLEAR IN OUR NOTES TO CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT,
INCLUDING HUNGARY, DATED 15 NOVEMBER, 1972. IN THEIR REPLIES
THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES CONCERNED GAVE NO INDICATION THAT
THEY DID NOT WISH HUNGARY TO BE A DIRECT PARTICIPANT. ALMOST
AT THE OUTSET OF THE TALKS, HUNGARY ITSELF AND SOME OTHER MEMBERS
OF THE WARSAW PACT INSISTED THAT HUNGARY SHOULD BE TOTALLY
EXCLUDED FROM POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN ANY AGREEMENTS.

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P R 111844 Z MAY 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2852
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
ALL MBFR CAPITALS 423
USMISSION GENEVA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 3956

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FROM US REP MBFR

6. THE OUTCOME IS THE RESULT OF CONCESSIONS ON BOTH SIDES.
THE POSITION OF HUNGARY HAS BEEN DEALT WITH IN A VERY SPECIAL
WAY. THE COUNTRY IS IN THE LIST OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS BUT
THE WESTERN AND HUNGARIAN STATEMENTS PROVIDE CLEAR EVIDENCE
THAT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONTINUE TO EXIST REGARDING HUNGARY
AND THAT THE QUESTION OF HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION HAS NOT BEEN
FINALLY SETTLED ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. TO MAKE THIS CLEAR THE
PACKAGE CONTAINS AN UNDERSTANDING ON THE PROCEDURES AND
PARTICIPATION, INCLUDING AN ALLIED STATEMENT WHICH IS NOT
CONTRADICTED BY THE HUNGARIAN REPLY, THAT THE NATURE OF HUNGARY'S
PARTICIPATION IN THE PRESENT TALKS DOES NOT PREJUDICE THE
PARTICIPATION OF HUNGARY IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS OR AGREEMENTS.
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AND, AS YOU WILL HAVE NOTED, ALL THE ELEMENTS OF THE PACKAGE
CONSTITUTE A SINGLE INTEGRATED ARRANGEMENT. THERE IS NO
DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PARTS, AND THE PAPER WHICH YOU HAVE
IS THE ONLY WRITTEN RECORD ON THE ENTIRE SUBJECT.

7. KEEPING IN MIND THE UNIQUE SITUATION OF HUNGARY, THE STATUS
OF ALL OTHER SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING ITALY, IS CLEARLY
ESTABLISHED IN THE ARRANGEMENT AND NOT OPEN TO QUESTION. THE
PHRASE " APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS" IN THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE
HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATIVE INDICATES IN OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT
THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HUNGARY MAY AGREE TO PARTIC-
IPATE, EITHER FULLY OR IN INDIVIDUAL MEASURES, WILL IN PRACTICE
BE DETERMINED BY THE OVERALL NEGOTIATING SITUATION AT THE TIME.
NO SPECIFIC CONDITION IS MENTIONED IN THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT.

8. I WOULD UNDERSCORE THAT IN THIS ARRANGEMENT HUNGARY, AND
HUNGARY ALONE, OF THE SPECIAL STATUS STATES HAS AGREED TO
CONSIDER PARTICIPATION IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS RELATING TO CENTRAL
EUROPE. HUNGARY WILL IN THE FUTURE CONSIDER NOT ONLY THE POSS-
IBILITY OF BECOMING A DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS
BUT ALSO, MORE TO THE POINT, THE POSSIBILITY OF BECOMING A
PARTICIPANT IN ACTUAL AGREEMENTS OR AGREED MEASURES. THIS
MEANS THAT FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES HUNGARY IS CONSIDERED A
POTENTIAL PARTICIPANT IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS. THIS IS THE MAIN
ISSUE AT STAGE, AND NOT THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IN THE PRESENT
ARRANGEMENT HUNGARY HAS THE FORMAL LABEL OF A SPECIAL
PARTICIPANT.

9. IN ADDITION, THE WESTERN ALLIES HAVE FORMALLY ANNOUNCED

THEIR INTENTION TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY'S PARTICIPATION IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES AT A LATER DATE. WE INTEND TO FOLLOW UP ON THAT INTENTION. A PROVISION HAS BEEN INCLUDED IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER THAT WILL ALLOW A SPECIAL STATUS STATE TO CHANGE ITS STATUS TO THAT OF A DIRECT PARTICIPANT. ONLY HUNGARY HAS BEEN SINGLED OUT TODAY BY THE HUNGARIAN AND WESTERN STATEMENTS AS A STATE WHICH WOULD BE EXPECTED TO RECONSIDER ITS STATUS AT A LATER DATE. SINCE OUR POSITION WAS THAT WE WANTED TO HAVE THE POSSIBILITY OF INCLUDING HUNGARY IN POSSIBLE MEASURES OR AGREEMENTS, THIS OUTCOME FULFILLS OUR ORIGINAL REQUIREMENTS.

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10. THE WESTERN ALLIES BELIEVE WE HAVE REACHED AN ACCEPTABLE AND EQUITABLE COMPROMISE IN THIS PACKAGE. WE WILL INSIST THAT OUR LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS WILL BE SAFEGUARDED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. NO STATE COULD BE FORCED TO PARTICIPATE AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS AGAINST ITS WILL, BUT HUNGARY AND ITS WARSAW PACT ALLIES HAVE FINALLY RECOGNIZED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE WESTERN ALLIES' INTEREST IN INCLUDING HUNGARY IN AGREEMENTS AND HAVE AGREED TO WHAT IS IN FACT A UNIQUE STATUS FOR HUNGARY.

11. WE BELIEVE THIS OUTCOME ALSO ILLUSTRATES TWO IMPORTANT THINGS. THE FIRST IS THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE SHOWN A SERIOUS INTEREST IN THE PROCEEDINGS AND THE SUBJECT MATTER. THE SECOND IS THAT THE DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT AND TENACIOUSLY PURSUED BY BOTH SIDES. THIS WE BELIEVE IS AN ACCURATE FORECAST OF THE COMPLEXITY AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE AUTUMN. IT HAS BEEN A TIME OF TESTING FOR THE NATO PARTICIPANTS. THEY HAVE SHOWN COHESION AND PERSEVERENCE AND CAUTION AND THESE WILL BE THE MAIN QUALITIES NEEDED IN THE
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